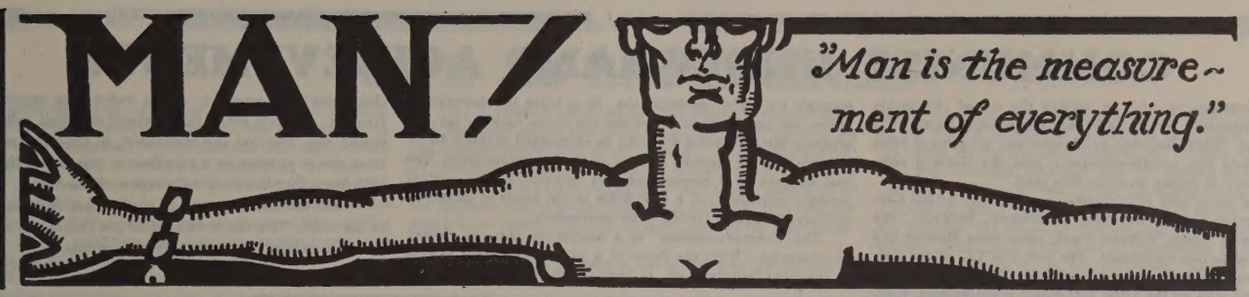
MAN!



"Man is the measure-ment of everything."

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ANARCHISM and "SILICOSIS"

A city known as Gauley Bridge, W. Va., suddenly rose to fame. The usually peaceful community with its churchyard and little school house, where calm and serene citizens go for prayer and wordly instruction, emerged from its village drowsiness and became famously known unto the wide open world as the "town of walking dead men."

What has happened in Gauley Bridge to bring her in the limelight and wordly repute is simply this: the Kanawha Power Company, a subsidiary of the utility industry, undertook the digging of a power tunnel for deposits of silicota, which, if the project would prove successful it should enable the company to produce electricity at a cheaper rate of cost. Whether or not the project was a financial success it proved disastrous for the few thousand men that were employed, due to a poisenous effect of silicota dust that entered their lungs, and as result 476 of them have already passed unto the beyond with about 1500 doomed to die very soon, as no medical cure is known to counteract the desease (it might be added parenthetically that no one really knows to account for the number of dead or dying, as many Negroes were brought from the South who went back when stricken with the malady).

And now the formal accusations of "greed", "profiteering" and the rest of the epitaths, usually ascribed to the capitalist order when a catastrophe of this nature occurs, will be forthcoming from socialist ranks as well as from all movements that pretend to champion the cause of the proletariat. How they will foam with anger at the unscrupulous capitalists who stop at nothing, not even at sacrifice of human life, in order to reap their full share of profit.

Undoubtedly more precautions could be taken in industrial enterprises to safeguard a little better the workers engaged in these occupations; but industrial development will always demand human sacrifice—whether such development takes place in capitalist America, communist Russia or fascist Germany. Boulder Dam and Dniepostroi are impartial to any of the capitalist or proletarian theories. The coal mines and chemical plants will crush those who enter them regardless whether they work for DuPontism or Marxism. And if the automobile could exact a yearly toll of some 35000 human lives in the United States it could do so proportionately in Bulgaria if that many should be made available. Not the god Mammon should be held accountable for the enormous loss of life in the field of production but the industrial Monster who maims and destroys all that comes in contact with its mechanical force.

The walking dead in Gauley Bridge are not the first nor the last victims organized industry will crush in its advance for a mechanized civilization, but their dramatic shadows bring on certain thoughts anent the slogans our social antagonists employ whenever they get a chance to aim their socialist cannon-balls at anarchism. How they launch in sneering vituperation at some of the anarchist ideas about organizing social communities without finding it necessary to blast rock mountains or build giant girders. "Your philosophy would fit in very nicely in some hick-town or village", is their usual arguing point of ridicule. "You don't expect us to go back to the spinning wheel when grand-mothers needled their petticoats, do you?", is another of their smart-alecky telling blows dealt out anarchism.

No, we don't intend going back to the spinning wheel or the petticoat. Anarchism never aimed for anything regressive. On the contrary Anarchism always advocated a plan of socialization which would afford the highest degree of material as well as spiritual gratification. But—if it has to be admitted to our shame—many of anarchist belief are not so passionately in love with high-powered industrialization to worship it with religious fervor as the disciples of flywheelism do. They are inclined to believe that the happiness and well-being of a social community does not necessarily have to depend on blasting of rocks or drilling of sulphur mines. Social security, requiring for its chief mainstay the provision of food, shelter, clothing and all other means of livelihood including even moderate comforts and luxuries, can be procured, if properly organized, by pursuing an ordinary routine of work in fitting with human effort and human desires. There is no need for pneumatic drilling or mechanical whirling, as preached by the industrial hounds, to create for human want. One may sneer at the "village blacksmith", who earned a livelihood by the method of hammer and anvil, but at least he preserved his human integrity; he had not been smelted into a cog that turns breathlessly with the iron wheel in the fashion of our modern workers. The home-craftsmanship industry, which gave way to industrial development in civilized countries, performed a vital function in that it provided human needs without the necessity of jeoperdizing human life and human individuality.

As an economic basis for human association such domestic arrangement would unquestionably solve the material needs of any community, large or small; but considering it from another angle there may be a possibility for our modern civilization, which is resting largely on the laurels of industrial achievement, to gradually fall into decadence—and perhaps even becoming extinct. Well, the anarchists would shed very few tears if it did. It has taken too many tolls of our life to become aggrieved over its possible doom. It has crucified too many of the toiling classes on the industrial altar to regret its extinction. That, however, is intended only as an "aside" remark. The truth of the matter is that Big Industry contributes nothing towards the progress of civilization but only serves as a technical factor in promoting labor-saving devises for the explicit purpose of increasing production. Real civilization is cultural not industrial. If mankind has any right whatsoever to pride itself with human achievement it must point to its cultural progress not the mechanical. The works of genius stare at us from books and microscopes not from flywheels or goldplates.

There have been civilizations in the past. Athens flourished with art, science and philosophy, though lacking the benefits of a Hudson tunnel or a speed-up system a la Ford or Stakhanoff. There have been civilizations prior to Athens and after her. There was the Renascence period—a period the whole world is remembering and will continue to remember in reverence; men broke away from the lethargy in which they were slumbering under a blanket of gospel opium and beamed a new dawn upon science, art and invention. A splendid era of cultural revival it was. The great geniuses of that day, searching and uncovering new branches of science and invention proclaimed them to the world at a risk of suffering condemnation—and even death—from the then ruling powers; but they did not flinch, for they strove not for "patterns" or recompense, which is the CROIX 'DE GUERRE of industrial civilization, but for intellectual progress, which is the torch-light of real civilization.

And let not the reader suppose prior civilizations were relapsing in their struggles for economic existence. Athens was a brewing center of trade and commerce, as were the more ancient civilizations. In all the glory the Renascense era achieved in astronomy, alchemy and general science, men did not forget to research and improve upon the various substances which are required for practical use. Economic inequality and social injustice prevailed then as today, but the impetus set for cultural progress in by-gone civilizations was of worthier merits than industrial age will ever attain with all the technical explosives and hydroelectric illuminations.

In any event, it is fairly understandable why human life must be squandered for the sake of explosive enterprises in a capitalist order of society; the striving for maximum profit at minimum cost of production, added to this the competition capitalism must face in open markets, are potent factors to actuate for bigger and better machine development. But why must the so-called Marxian theoreticians sing peans to the mechanical monster? Why must they crash mountain barriers or introduce Stakhanoff speedometerism, which converts human beings in mechanical projectiles? If, as the Marxian chieftains in Soviet Union claim, proletarian industry is not run for individual profiteering, would it not be more reasonable and more ideal to preserve the integrity of Man (particularly so when he is considered a "tovaristch") than to perfect the machine? Must men be led to the slaughter dens on the economic field as they are led into the trenches on the battlefield?

No, anarchism would not resort to a ruthless extermination of human bodies for the sake of mechanical force. In the anarchist plan of a social order the welfare of men should come first. True, we too intend making use of modern implements for field and factory—probably as suggested by Peter Kropotkin in "Fields, Factories and Workshops"—but we shall not dynamite hills or build skyscrapers at the risk of human labor. Human needs and human comfort can and should be gotten through more rational methods than those adopted or preached by capitalist and socialist plutocrats alike.

Let them snicker to their hearts content at the proposed anarchist society that aims for a sane and idyllic life. In a free society, as advocated by Anarchism there would be no "walking dead" like those in Gaule Bridge, no maimed and corroded living and no thousands upon thousands killed victims of industrial robotism.

A human society should aim for life and creation, not for death and destruction.

SAMUEL POLINOW.

Deportation Officials' Unlimited Perfidies

As is known to the readers of this journal both Vincent Ferrero and Domenick Sallitto have been on Ellis Island since last December, awaiting the outcome of an Habeas Corpus in their behalf. The hearing took place on February 4 before Judge F. Caffey at New York City. A final decision has been reserved and is being awaited at any moment. The attorney for the two men, Isaac Shorr, revealed in court that the labor department at Washington has on its file of the cases a pleading request by the officials of the labor department of California to uphold their findings—since PUBLIC OPINION IN CALIFORNIA DEMANDS THAT FERRERO AND SALLITTO BE DEPORTED!

In view of such a claim being made it is quite proper to demand from the labor department to disclose who that public opinion is. MAN! challenges the government to prove that a single bona-fide request has been received from any honest man or woman who believe in the freedom of the press, freedom of opinion and freedom of the conscience. Furthermore, MAN! dares the labor department to disclose the approximate number of men and women who attended mass protest meetings in behalf of the two men in Chicago, Los Angeles, New York and San Francisco, (the under cover men or the same department have no doubt attended every such gathering) as also to disclose the exact number of protests that it has received from men and women of every part of the country—against the attempt to deport Ferrero and Sallitto.

That much for the duplicity and hypocritical claim being put forward by the labor department of California.

But these are by no means all the fronts that the officials of the government are trying to cover in order to appease the huge protest that is pouring down upon the labor department in this attempted deportation. The "chief" of the deportation division, Mr. MacCormack, is busy in sending out a sterotyped reply to the thousands of men and women who have protested the attempted deportation of Ferrero and Sallitto, wherein he asserts.

". . . The Ferrero and Sallitto cases have been reviewed on numerous occasions and have been given most careful consideration by the legal officers of the Department, but in view of the evidence contained in the record, it has been necessary to affirm the original decision which directed the aliens' deportation.

"These aliens have been given the opportunity to depart to any country of their choice, and have had a period of several months in which to arrange to take advantage of this privilege."

The innocent manner assumed by Mr. MacCormack is one of those acts of trickery and deceit that is so common to all government officials when caught red-handed in the attempt to railroad innocent men as well as attempting to outrage every principle of freedom of the press, of opinion and of the conscience.

Ferrero and Sallitto have been seized in the middle of the night by agents of the labor department, ONE OF WHOM ACTED AS PROSECUTING ATTORNEY AND JUDGE, and THE REST AS WITNESSES WHO FURNISHED THE EVIDENCE—all in secret chambers to which the public was not even admitted! The labor department at Washington simply gave their O. K. upon the recommendations of this local "judge" to hand over Ferrero and Sallitto to fascist Italy.

Ferrero and Sallitto were "granted" voluntary departure all right. But what Mr. MacCormack carefully avoids to tell is, that the fascist government of Italy refuses to give either one a visa to any other country, thereby expecting Mr. MacCormack to oblige them with the dirty work of handing over these two men into their clutches!

Mr. MacCormack speaks about the evidence but dares not state what it consists of. A few months ago he verbally stated to Attorney Ewing C. Baskette at Nashville, Tenn., that the fact of their having rented part of their restaurant as a mailing office address for MAN! is sufficient proof of their being anarchists. At the same time the President of the "liberal-new-deal" administration and other cabinet members are repeatedly swearing by the assertions that they are staunch upholders of the freedom of the press.

It has been repeatedly point out by MAN! that what the government is really aiming it, if successful in deporting Ferrero and Sallitto is to stiffle our voice. Thus destroying the freedom of the press, but in a hidden, indirect manner. This hypocritical cloak can and MUST NOW be thorn down from the present administration. The protesting voices of the real liberty loving men and women of America have already placed the government officials on the defensive. This voice must be renewed in an even more emphatic manner than heretofore, if the liberty and lives of Ferrero and Sallitto are to be saved from the torture chambers of Fascist Italy, and the freedom of the press not remain but an empty claim.

COMMUNIST UNDERHAND ACHIEVEMENTS

The communists wish to achieve the art of citizenship (middle-classness). First the French communists began. The Communist Youth Congress at Moscow put up general rules for the road into middle-classness. And the German communist party is trying to enter this road.

In the latter part of November a conference of the German communist party was held at Brussels, Belgium. The present party leader, Wilhelm Pieck, came from Moscow and participated in this conference. The new TACTIC of the German communist party was emphasized. They wish now a united front with all the other anti-Hitler organizations, without any exception of party-leanings or religious conceptions. The conference adopted a manifesto, in which it is demanded:

"Re-establishment of ordinary democratic liberties, re-establishment of all parties, of all workers and peasants organizations, re-establishment of beliefs and freedom of conscience, equality of all independent of race or religion."

This standpoint stands in contradiction to the conditions prevailing in Russia. There, where the communist party has the power, there is no freedom of belief or of conscience. What then does the new attitude of the communist party of Germany mean: truth or swindle?

The common parties, democrats, liberals, social democrats, Protestants, Jews, Catholics, in brief, all those who are being persecuted in Hitler's Germany, should unite themselves with the communists in the struggle against the Third Reich. In order to make possible the working together of all these "citizenship" elements with the communists, the latter are swearing off to them their beliefs.

With the phrase of "citizenship" demands the communists wish to achieve the trust of the middle-class. Will the middle-class let themselves be fooled? That much the worse for them. But the workers need not let themselves be fooled.

The communist party is carrying on today, as it did before, a double role; the middle-class elements should be made to believe, that the communists wish to defend the citizenship freedoms. And the workers should believe that the communists desire socialism and communism. Nevertheless middle-class and socialist system do not let themselves become one, they exclude each other. Is it aimed at wiping off these truths? Every man should believe that the communists are against the totalitarian state. Maneuvers of deceit. Does the communist party of Germany wish to remain true to itself, it must, after Hitler's demise, lead on the Revolution till it will be enabled to attain the reins itself. Will the communist party of Germany deny this? The reign of the communist party of Germany means the destruction of all other parties, unceasing persecution of freedom of belief and of conscience, the eradication of all workers and peasants organizations. The recognition of freedom of belief and of conscience is taboo on the communist program.

Why do the communists keep silent on this truth?

Out of two situations the communist parties must choose but one: Either put aside the carrying out of its program and opposition party, and become within the middle-class of democratic states one of them; or they wish to achieve the dictatorship of the proletariat. Their latest maneuver implies the erecting of middle-class democracy.

A communist State with freedom of belief and of conscience, with free workers and peasants organizations needs yet to be born. Until now we only know the communist State as a totalitarian State, wherein freedom of conscience, political freedom, social freedom, free workers and peasants organizations are being suppressed. Herein the communist State equals the Fascist one: both are totalitarian. Only different names are being used for the same conditions.

The communist party of Germany dares no more today, to be open. It keeps silent, according to the prescription of Lenin, the truth, makes use of the lie, the flattery, the swindle. It wants to mislead the workers and middle-class about its true character. In its present condition without power it plays love with the middle-class. It has always been false, now it becomes also ridiculous.

The revolution against Hitler will not come because the united front is composed of from the communists to the Catholics. It will break out when the masses will no longer be able to bear the oppression. This revolution can come after a lost war, through an economic break down of the system. A common positive objective of all the dissatisfied there is not. Why is this being denied?

The socialist thinking masses, have no reasons, to deny its conceptions. That the true socialism* can not come through the Totalitarian State, that they have learned already, through Moscow, through Rome, through Berlin. The slogan: ON TO THE STATE, is no more, it is called today: FREE FROM THE STATE! Has not the national-socialism shown the impossibility of the union between State and Socialism?

The communists believe they are acting wise, they are hiding their aims. This one must imagine, for later. At the right time the communist party will be reminded, that it (when without power) demanded freedom of belief and of conscience.

Whoever fights against Hitler, need not to deny his convictions, he is marked. Needless and unethical it is, to attempt in gaining the confidence of others through the denial of one's own standpoint.

With fascism capitalism must be overthrown. The struggle against fascism should not be separated from the struggle for social emancipation. Even after the downfall of Hitler, his opponents will continue the circle, each for its own separate aim. Freedom will still be encramped through force. All this is of no account, as long as the revolution lives. The real dangers to it comes from the enthroning of a central machine institution, of a new State in the hands of dictators, military, fascist or "proletarian-communist."

The "Internationalism" of a movement does not change its character. With the force of a state jacket men cannot be educated into freedom. It began with the statilizing (nationalizing) the economy, and it ended with suppression of freedom. In State realm international socialism raised also a fascist one. Fascism and communist, in appearances extreme from one to another as a pole from a pole, touch themselves, both have the common Totaliaranism of the State.

What the communist party wants, leads from one fascism to the other. This the workers need not forget, the new tactic of the Comintern is opportunistic business.

A. SOUCHY.

*Socialism, as is being used by the author, is the free socialism that prevailed within the First International, before Karl Marx had founded what is commonly known today as authoritarian socialism.—EDITOR.

Chicory Corners Turns To Astrology

What ails me? My stars!!!!!!

I"ve suspected it for years but tried not to yield to it. My astrological friends looked at me sympathetically every time I admitted my birthdate but I always tried to laugh it off. I'm a Piscean, if you must know the truth—a poor fish. That's why I'm an anarchist instead of a Rotarian. Saturn glowered, Neptune wept and Uranus went haywire the night I was born. I just ain't a regular fellow. But never mind me. When I started to study astrology, which had all my bad points and misfortunes down to a nicety, I also learned early last summer what was going to happen to friends, enemies and the world at large.

Believe it or not, the looney stargazers accurately predicted the outbreak of the Italo-Ethiopian war, the Social Credit victory in Alberta and the wild sweep of Liberalism in the last Dominion election. Everything in the elections went just as predicted in magazines printed two or three months in advance. Now what next? Why Social Revolution of course. Only the stargazers don't express it that way. They point to new religions replacing old religions, humanitarian movements such as prison reform, "some new development in educational methods", a "new voice" will be raised in the Eastern States or somewhere else for social betterment of mankind.

The fact of the matter is the soothsayers are getting softhearted themselves and are kidding the people into thinking along freer and therefore happier lines and FREE THOUGHT can actuate in only one thing—Social Revolution.

That nauseatingly-flaunted thing "Canadian justice" got a tremendous stomach-settler when it became apparent recently that the wrong man had been identified and convicted in the kidnapping of John Labatt, wealthy Huronopolis brewer. Everybody around Chicory Corners still believes that Labatt was kidnapped but from there on conscience just isn't a willing guide.

And the staidest of women's clubs are beginning to talk about the humanitarian efforts of Agnes Macphail in the Canadian Commons. Not even the dumbest Tory or the most hardened sergeant-major in the Army dares to hint that Agnes is queer any more. From now on nobody's going to get into Portsmouth Penitentiary at Kingston unless they are deserving criminals.

One of the humane advances that are looked for under the King administration has to do with the U. S.-Canada border. There is nothing to the credit of either Canada or the United States in the separating of families because parents born in Europe forget and cross the border at Niagara or Detroit with incomplete citizenship papers. Rum-runners, dope-vendors, kidnappers, gangsters of every sort, have been crossing freely for a long time. But an English immigrant boy in Windsor goes to a Detroit picture show and can't get back to Canada because he can't prove five years' residence. He goes to Wayne county jail and the U. S. sends him across the ocean.

An Italian family is divided at Niagara Falls, the father in Canada, his wife and children in the United States. They are permitted to meet occasionally on the international bridge. It makes a good newspaper story, but it shouldn't be. And it isn't going to be much longer.

If passports can be fixed for gambling kings, passports can be fixed for honest laborers. And somehow I read it in the stars that border members of parliament and border congressmen are going to be good fellows and look after the fixing. The "social credit" of a street cleaner from now on is going to count more in the balance of politics than the slugs of slot machine magnates. How do I know? It's all in the stars.

Any politician who dares to kid the populace or kick the under-dog in North America during the next seven years is slated for the discard himself. Some sort of Millenium is scheduled to come about in 1942. All the astrological magazines agree on this. Stick around and see. This pesky science of the ancient Chaldeans has got me jittery. But as a "mystic Piscean" I am destined to either found a new religion or "start a revolution". So was every other person born in March, according to his or her forecast for last August. And somehow I have a feeling that it "started".

Meet me at Chicory Corners most any afternoon and I'll introduce you to the "Secret Six", any number of "secret sixes"—boys and girls in journalism, business, even law and politics, whose constellations at birth impelled them to become devotees of the new American faiths—Menckenism, Neo-Menckenism, post-Menckenism, and after that WHAT? Briefly and bluntly, the collapse of flunkeyism.

Not all these young people are pseudo-sophisticates. Some are the real thing. And have you by any chance counted the increase in "sophisticated" magazines on the newsstands within the past year? Somebody's reading them. And they contain dangerous stuff!!!

NEIL TURNSPUR.

Nine Negro Boys and White Man's Justice

Once again the nine Negro boys of Scottsboro, Alabama, were brought before the bars of the white man's justice. As is known, the U. S. Supreme Court ordered a new trial of Heywood Patterson, a trial in which Negroes should have the right to be drawn and serve as jurymen, since such a right does not prevail in the South, despite the constitution to the contrary. And this is how Daniel F. Raymond, correspondent of the New York TIMES describes (January 26) the order of the U. S. Supreme Court was carried out:

"If they must put Negroes upon their jury rolls, the State could "strike" them before they ever got into the jury box, couldn't it? So they reasoned, Alabama could still render lip service to the Fourteenth Amendment and flout it as she had since the evil days after the war between the States, they reasoned. That, and more, is exactly what happened."

Since the main charge against the nine boys has been the one of having attacked two girls in the freight car they were riding, and since one of the girls has long ago recanted the charge as a mere frame-up, there was but left the sole accuser—Victoria Price. And about her testimony, and that of other witnesses, Mr. Daniel writes in the same issue of the TIMES:

"Judge Callahan held repeatedly that the defense had no right to show that Victoria Price might have given the physical appearance of having been attacked entirely as the result of her own willing indiscretions with white men on the night before she accused the Negroes of attacking her, after a posse had stopped the freight train on which she and her momentary lover were hoboing.

"The State's own witness, Dr. R. R. Bridges, gave testimony at the trial before Judge Horton tending to bear out the theory of the defense about how the complaining witnesses got into the condition in which he found them. After that the State never presented its medical testimony, holding that a party to a lawsuit cannot attack its own witnesses."

Under such circumstances what else could have been expected except a repeatance of the two former trials of Patterson? Only, instead of the death sentence, he was now given a 75 year sentence, a slow tortuous death. Seven of the nine Negro boys have never been tried as yet, since their arrest of over five years ago, and most of them were then between the ages of 13 and 15 years!

As the prisoners were being taken back to jail, after the sentencing of Patterson, the sheriffs were taunting their victims which drew retorts from one. After being slapped in the face he, Ozie Powell, handcuffed with one hand drew a pen-knife with which he attempted to avenge himself upon the attacking sheriff. The latter drew a gun and shot one bullet at Powell. Now Powell is fighting off death, although it would be most welcome to him in preference to the white man's justice.

The bestial upholders of "law and order" issued forth an hypocritical outcry of a frame-up by all the nine boys to escape. This shameless attempt to shield their criminal action was most ably met by the attorney for the boys—Mr. Leibowitz, when he declared:

"Does the Sheriff of Morgan County claim that three Negroes shackled together in the rear seat of a rapidly moving automobile, with only two doors leading to the front compartment, with two men in that automobile armed to the teeth, this car preceded in front by an automobile carrying two other armed officers of the law and followed by still another car with armed guards and with State highway patrolmen as an escort, did attempt to escape by using a pen-knife?"

A leading editorial writer of the South, Mr. John Temple Graves, wrote even before the new trial began (New York TIMES, January 12) that:

"There is little or no editorial discussion in Alabama papers as the case is opened again. Nearly everybody seems to feel that the new convictions are certain and that successful appeals or legal maneuvering thereafter are equally certain."

The injustices being meted out by the arrogant and depraved whites of the South against the Negroes is a common byword all the world over. Yesterday it was Angelo Herndon and for the last five years it has been these nine youthful Negroes. Tomorrow it may be any other innocent Negro victim whom some white bastard or harlot will wish to choose as their new victims.

The U. S. Attorney General who so readily obliged the Shipping owners of the Pacific Coast by sending his agents to secretly investigate any possible infringement of the "law and order" society by the seamen who are now fighting for the right to live, (and who, by the way, are now facing their own national paid officialdom in the courts—fighting side by side with their bosses and the government to crush them and

(*Continued On Page Three*)

LIFE AS EXPERIENCE

I consider life as an experience, or rather as a series of experiences, lived to secure the richest, the most abundant, the most varied possible. I think that the individual attains the age of awareness, of intelligent reaction on his environment, in the measure in which he analyzes and renews the experiences of life, in which he runs the gamut of emotions or of sensations, both because they appear inevitably on the keyboard of his existence, and because, knowing this and wishing it, he deliberately provokes them.

What I say of life in this sense must be understood of the inward or intellectual life, that of the sensations or the affections. Life considered in terms of the accomplishment of organic functions—however indispensable these may be to the development of the inner being—does not give sufficient place to the complexity of experiences. Discovery of variety among foodstuffs is not of serious interest to him who is possessed by true curiosity. There are not more than a hundred ways to breathe, to digest, to sleep or to reproduce one's self. In this domain, therefore, the field of experience is limited. And equally indifferent, to my mind, are the experiences involved in the quest of a "position", of glory, of honors, of a good reputation, etc.

* * *

I maintain that there is interest in multiplying the experiences of life: interest for him who modifies or renews them. His horizon is widened, his knowledge increased, his sensibility refined; if he loves experience for the experience itself, that is if he seeks rather to instruct himself than to secure a measurable and palable profit, if he neither fears sorrow nor overvalues joy, possibilities of almost unlimited personal development are within his reach. I think that no man can be made "good", that is to say, can understand the diverse situations of his fellows while refraining from passing judgment, in any way other than by passing through the crucible of experience.

* * *

To attain its maximum of utility the journey of research, the journey to the conquest of experience, demands that it be recorded, told, analyzed, communicated to another; that this other may learn thereby how to live more fully, more largely—that he may be inspired to gird his loins, to seize the staff, to take to the road for himself also.

I think that the experience which profits only the one who has it fails of attaining its purpose; it is like the new process which a savant discovers, but whose formula he keeps locked in the strong-box of his memory. Effort and experience do not achieve their power of illumination, and stimulate no intellectual activity, save in the measure in which they are exposed before the world, the world of differences and likenesses, whether they are in the nature of a denial or of a contribution. It matters little that those who do not wish to profit by it turn away, shrugging their shoulders. The work of propaganda is not therefore the less accomplished: the fertile work emanating from me, from the individual sanctum to abut on the surrounding world, to illumine the social group—the work of distinguishing, of personal selection among the masses.

Naturally it is necessary that the journey to the conquest of experience, to be exposed and told, shall be worth the trouble.

* * *

Life as experience is lived constantly outside "the law" or "morality" or "customs"—all conventions calculated to assure the *farniente* of interior stagnation to those who refrain from risking themselves, whether through fear or through self-interest.

Life as experience tears up the programmes, treads under foot the proprieties, breaks the glass, descends from the ivory tower. It abondons the city of Things Gained, goes out from the gate of the Things judged, and wanders toward adventure in the open field of the Unforseen.

For experience never accepts the thing gained as definitive, the thing judged as beyond appeal. Indeed it wanders, the life without experience, as an "outlaw", without logic, attired briefly or not at all—defiant of moralism, terror of good form, of the bourgeois respectable continually affronted by the thought that someone will come, at night, to pound the knockers of their doors and to wake them from their stupefying habits.

Life lived as experience is not troubled by the lack or by the volume of the results obtained. It is disturbed by defeat no more than by victory. Triumphs, checks, obstacles overturned, barriers reversed, falls in the mud, all are subjects of experience. One thing only can distress it: the thought that it might be lived uselessly or without profit.

* * *

All things considered, one concludes that the true educators are those who encourage one to enter without fear on the road of experience, to look life squarely in the face—life with its incalculable richness of diverse experiences. The true educator does not seek to destroy sensibility, to annihilate feeling, to rule off the individual life as he would a sheet of music paper, to limit the vibrations, to restrict the fullness. Oh no!—For thought and appreciation for and by one's self, there is no value in committing to another the equipment and the desire for experience. And the more that experience has been difficult to pursue, rich in surprises, harassed by perplexities, saturated with joy, the less those who have risked it are willing to abandon their liberty of thought and to bestow it upon another. And greater still will be the number of those unafraid to live, because they have known life by experiment.

(Translated by George Hedley) **E. ARMAND.**

Labor's Toll List For 1935 In United States

The Labor Research Association gathered the following statistics relating to workers murdered in the United States during the year of 1935. Added to that list should be the name of Arthur Ross, an I. W. W. of Long Beach, Calif., who died as a result of an attack upon him by a vigilante rat on September 1, 1935, bringing the total list up to 34 workers murdered:

"PINK WALKER, unemployed United Textile Workers' sympathizer, shot by scab at Richmond Hosiery Mills, Rossville, Ga., February 3.

FRANK PETROVSKY, 28-year-old miner, member of the United Anthracite Miner's Union, killed by a scab at Glen Alden Coal Company, Woodward colliery, Pa., February 14.

KENNETH ELDRIDGE, PAUL KNIGHT, killed by vigilantes in fruit and vegetable workers' strike at William Wahl shed, El Centro, Calif., February 17.

IGNACIO VELARDE, 37-year-old jobless worker, killed by deputy sheriff in demonstration against eviction at Gallup, New Mexico, April 4.

SOLOMON ESQUIBEL, 33-year-old communist leader, died in Gallup hospital April 12, from shot in spine received at April 4 demonstration.

ANDY LATISKA, 30-year-old father of two children, killed by shots fired by strike guards at Kaul Clay Company, Toronto, Ohio, April 17.

ROY MORENCY, 32-year-old vice-president of warehouseman's union, killed by son of owner of Struck trucking company, Stockton, Calif., April 27.

FONIE STEPHENS, textile striker, died of wounds received when National Guardsmen attacked strikers, Galloway Mills, LaGrange, Ga., May 11.

GEORGE MELHELM, 56-year-old bystander, died of wounds received when company guards attacked strikers at Berger Manufacturing Company, Canton, Ohio, June 13.

JOHN W. DUSTER, bystander, killed when police attacked street car strikers, Omaha, Nebraska, June 14.

DEWEY McCOY, bystander, killed when police attacked Omaha strikers, June 14.

WILLIAM KAARTE, lumber striker, killed by police near Holmes, Eureka Mill, Eureka, California, June 21.

FRED FRIEDL, 48-year-old former business agent of International Seamen's Union, killed by detective and four others at San Pedro, California, June 22.

HAROLD EDLUND, 35-year-old lumber striker, died June 25 of wounds received in police attack at Eureka, California, June 21.

ED BARCY, JOE JOHNSON, JIM MERIWEATHER, strikers of Alabama Share-croppers' Union, found dead in the swamps of Montgomery and Lowndes counties, Alabama, in August.

MRS. BERTHA KELLY, 21-year-old textile picket, mother of two children, shot in strike clash at Pelzer Manufacturing Company, Pelzer, South Carolina, September 2.

MELVIN BJORKLUND, EUGENE CASPER, bystanders, shot by police in strike at Flour City Ornamental Iron Works, Minneapolis, Minnesota, September 12.

SMITH WATKINS, active member of Alabama Share-croppers' Union, found dead in swamp, Bultier County, Alabama, in September.

WILLIAM L. POLLEY, business agent of truck drivers' union, active Socialist, shot by gangsters just prior to strike call, Kansas City, Kan., October 13.

SAM DOWDELL, striker, shot by scab at Tennesse Coal and Iron Company mine near Birmingham, Ala., October 16.

ETINNE CHRIST, 34-year-old longshore striker, found dead near Teas Company terminal, Port Arthur, Texas, October 21.

VIRGIL THOMAS, United Mine Workers' striker, ambushed by machine guns while en route to picket at Acmar mine of Alabama Fuel and Iron Company, near Birmingham, Alabama, October 28.

ERNEST DUKES, picket, member of International Longshoremen's Association, shot by cop protecting scabs at Mobile, Alabama, October 13.

RALPH RATLEFF, 26-year-old United Mine Workers member, shot by strike-breaker near Pikesville, Kentucky, November 3.

SAM BRANDT, 21-year-old International Longshoremen's Association striker, shot by strike guards at Houston, Texas, November 26.

JOSEPH SHOEMAKER, Socialist and unemployed leader, beaten by mob and police at Tampa, November 30.

CARL SWANSON, Socialist auto striker, shot in back by scab foreman during strike in Detroit, Michigan. Died December 15.

Negro Boys

(*Continued From Page Two*)

destroy their real union) the same Mr. Cummings has not sent, nor will he ever send, any of his agents to investigate the criminal injustices that are being perpetrated in the South upon the Negroes by the white upholders of "law and order."

Our liberals, socialists and communists will no doubt again busy themselves with the filing of protests, addressed to the very same vandals who constitute "law and order" in the South. And, in the meantime, the Negroes will continue to be murdered, lynched and tortured a living death in jails, as well as out of them.

The civil war has not freed the Negro from the bondage of the white man. Bondage in economic slavery as well as bondage as a human being. And if a new civil war was ever justifiable, one by the Negroes of the South against their white oppressors and rulers, exploiters and tormentors, lynchers and framers—one certainly would be NOW. The white man's inhumanity to the Negroes has sown the seeds of civil war, and sooner or later, they shall reap the harvest.

BERT HILLSIDE.

Why Does Anarchism Progress So Slowly?

By PIERRE RAMUS

This important essay has just been published in a re-edited pamphlet form

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An Appeal From Cuba

Dear Comrade Graham:

It certainly must not be strange to you that I have not written you until now, because you must know that all the revolutionary elements in Cuba, and much more the Anarchists, are suffering the most brutal military and civil oppression, even worse than when Machado ruled this country.

I write you these few lines so as to let you know of the actual situation under which we have to put up with. I don't know whether you still are sending me MAN! because the police took possession of our residences, our post-office box, etc., in April of last year. It is from that time on that we are trying to continue our labor movement. Many comrades have been sent to jail, and most have been in hiding from police houndings. The police are employing the most barbarous methods that any one can imagine, from the torture to the death upon those that dare to think different than the owners of Cuba. Batista, the chief Police sadist, is but a tool of Cafferey, the U. S. Ambassador, fighting to maintain the power of the exploiting sugar interests of America.

We have lost all our files of whatever association we carried on with groups and newspapers everywhere. We need the contact to be re-established anew. We need aid for our many political prisoners as well as all the literature that is being published by our comrades everywhere. Because most of our comrades are being persecuted and without work we are very poor in means.

YOURS FOR ANARCHY.

* * *

MAN! will gladly furnish the address we have to all groups and organs of our movement, as also be glad to forward any material aid that will be sent for our comrades in Cuba.—EDITOR.

* * *

Whether we like it or not, this is what the people mean by a revolution. As soon as they have made a clean sweep of the Government, they will seek first of all to ensure themselves decent dwellings and sufficient food and clothes—free of capitalist.—PETER KROPOTKIN.

Sonnet

Came hunger dancing, first of all the drabs,
clutching her withered belly, screaming; Disease
crawled next in torment on her gangrened knees,
and thru her rags blood leaked from broken scabs.
Her sister Harlotry minced flushed and full,
spitting a blackened blood with every breath;
came idiot Ignorance; Crime; and lastly Death
in sable gowns her eyes gleamed in her skull.

All gathered round the windows of the Rich,
and yearned, and hoarsely cried to them to bless
their lawful children, crying, "Mother, dear".
Greed urged the keepers drive them to the ditch,
Greed voiced disgust for everyone to hear,
yet loved her loathesome children none the less.

QUENTIN PARKER

* * *

Letters and science will only take their proper place in the work of human development when, freed from all mercenary bondage, they will be exclusively cultivated by those who love them, and for those who love them.—PETER KROPOTKIN.

* * *

In working to put an end to the division between master and slave, we work for the happiness of both, for the happiness of humanity.—PETER KROPOTKIN.

FREEDOM

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IN RETROSPECT OF CURRENT EVENTS

Constitution vs. the People's Welfare

Since the more audible part of the country is now ablaze with arguments and write-ups about the issue of the constitution versus the welfare of the people, it is quite proper to examine closer the entire structure upon which the American proudful democracy is based.

Logically speaking, one singular federal legislative body ought to suffice for the framing and enacting of all the laws of the land in the interest and benefit of the people. But logic seems to be the last thing in playing any part within the realms of Government and Law, Legislators and Electors.

Let's take a glance at the last two Governmental administrations, by way of illustration.

When Herbert Hoover's republican administration engineered a great part of the populace by lining them up around the corner of charity instead of prosperity, the great electoral citizenship began clamoring for a CHANGE, sort of a NEW DEAL. The democratic party, headed by Franklin D. Roosevelt, readily came forward with the promise of rendering to the disappointed citizenship the new deal it was clamoring for. The citizenship, in return, gave its mandate and AWAITED that its WELFARE shall be well taken care of by the new administration that they had swept into office.

President Roosevelt and his administration set to work on a series of laws destined to ameliorate the suffering of the multitudes. But framing and passing the laws is only as far as the governmental administration could go. The forefathers of this "glorious" land of the "free and the brave" saw to it that it should not go any farther. These forefathers, themselves slave holding exploiters, framed in their days a constitution which not only safeguarded the brigandage and pillage that they were committing, but it likewise was destined to become the very bulwark which was to continually protect every form of exploitation and robbery of the many by the few to these very days of our lives. Thus it has come to pass that every law of any importance that was proposed by President Roosevelt and passed by his party in Congress and the Senate has been declared as void by a majority of the United States Supreme Court.

And the proud citizenship of the land that has been lead to believe that the WILL OF THE PEOPLE FUNCTIONS MOST EFFICIENTLY AND TRULY IN A DEMOCRACY are beginning to ask themselves and wonder if THEY HAVE NOT BEEN SOLD ALL ALONG A PERFECT GOLD BRICK!

These disillusioned citizens are bound to begin not only in questioning the whole works of "democracy," as to WHY after laws intended to benefit them must first pass a President, a Congress and Senate—only to be finally declared as unconstitutional by nine men WHOM THEY NEVER ENTRUSTED OR GAVE ANY MANDATE TO DO WHAT THEY ARE DOING, but also ask themselves if THE ENTIRE INSTITUTION of Government IS ANYTHING ELSE but a diabolical and fraudulent invention for KEEPING THE EXPLOITED AND ROBBED MASSES IN CONTINUOUS DEPRIVATION, NEED, MISERY AND OPPRESSION? Furthermore, the same disillusioned citizenship will also have to ask itself as to whether there is any sense in FURTHER ENTRUSTING THEIR WELFARE IN THE HANDS OF ANY POLITICAL PARTY, since the very basic tricks and schemes upon which the Governmental institution has been founded WAS and STILL remains such as to perpetuate the very system of society that has brought the people into the miserable condition which they now find themselves?

Let no one imagine for a moment that Mr. Roosevelt and his democratic party was not aware of the fact that they can never put into practice any law that would tend to endanger the further existence of the system of profits. And one cannot have profits without exploitation. Neither can exploitation exist without the protection of the Government. They are both twins of the same devil—Mammon*.

*—Under the glowing gaze of the Supreme Court majority the Roosevelt administration is preparing to re-enact the AAA. The show was put into rehearsal after the court's decision was announced, and it will be ready for the House and Senate stage in a few days . . . What Roosevelt is preparing is not defiance; it is humbug . . . Because . . . it offers . . . a classic example of how laws are made, we might as well follow the show through the rehearsal. We begin by noting that its theme song is "Let's Put False Whiskers on the AAA"; that the opening chorus begins, "We gotta keep the farmers in check till November at least"; and that six big-time corporation lawyers, sitting as justices of the United States Supreme Court, helped with the libretta . . . Well, the only thing that occurred to Roosevelt and his advisers was to keep the AAA alive, partly by pretending that the Supreme Court had not meant what it said and partly by contriving a new disguise for this riches-through-scarcity device.—PAUL W. WARD, in the NATION of January 22, 1936.

MAN!

A Journal of the Anarchist Ideal and Movement
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Editor **Marcus Graham**

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MAN! invites the collaboration of all workers and artists who are in sympathy with our ideas to send us essays, prose, poems, and drawings. No payment can be made. Where return of manuscripts is desired sufficient postage should be included.

Administration and Editorial Address

MAN!

P. O. Box 115, San Francisco, California, U. S. A.

Mr. Ward is not exaggerating the situation, not by far. Let no one forget the real set-up of the Roosevelt administration. Close to fifty leading exploiters of other peoples' toil have been made by the Secretary of Commerce, Mr. Roper, the real legislative body that has been passing upon every bit of important legislation fostered by the democratic administration. That this secret power behind the throne is not motivated by any other holy purpose except the one of perpetuating the present capitalistic misorder of life. Only this gentry of Swope, Young and their professorial bootlickers, as Prof. Moley, are a bit shrewder than the tory exploiters who refuse even to throw bones at those whom they have been and are robbing. The first are willing to give the needy just enough food, shelter and clothing that would keep their bodies together. Thereby they hope to prevent an eventual uprising that may lead to real social revolts, and that would no doubt wipe away the entire present order. The last named think that by the knout and force of Government at their command they can forever safely keep on in robbing, exploiting and ruling the people.

Those who can think and are willing to learn from their experiences must realize that there never has been nor can there ever come any salvation to their needs and their suffering through the kind of institutions that have been founded for the purpose of perpetuating the very sort of miserable conditions in which the greater part of the people now find themselves, that is, through capitalism and its protector—the State.

Neither does the solution lie with any social or political party, despite the promises of all such to the contrary.

THE ONLY ONES WHO CAN AND EVER WILL SOLVE THE PROBLEMS OF INJUSTICE AND EXPLOITATION, OPPRESSION AND RULERSHIP ARE THOSE WHO SUFFER THEREBY—THE PEOPLE THEMSELVES.

To the plunderers and rulers of the land the cloak of democracy is no less of a sham than the constitution by which every law is being strangulated, and no more of a deceit than the whole institution of government itself. Even more than this, the laws of the land mean nothing to the real robber barrons who rule the industries of the country. They brazenly defy any law that tends to effect their pocketbooks. The publishers of the Daily Press Liars have openly defied the child labor amendment. The Security Registration Act has likewise been openly defied. So has been the NRA, the Guffey Coal Act, the National Labor Act—in short—every law that did not suit the exploiters.

If the robbers of other people's labor can send the laws of the land to hell—why cannot the robbed ones do likewise?

The earth is rich enough to feed, shelter, clothe and bring happiness to each and all alike. And as long as the greater part of suffering mankind remains afraid to take matters into its own hands in order to bring within the reach of every living soul—plentitude, contentment and happiness—it can have no one else to blame but itself.

A "People's Front"

In the first three days of January of this year there was held at Cleveland, Ohio, a Congress sponsored by The League Against War and Fascism. Represented at the Congress were 992 organizations of 28 states with a membership of 3,299-624. A General of the United States Army and one of the Chinese, a bishop and ministers of the gospel rubbed elbows with the delegates of the predominant communist and semi-communist organizations. Scores of resolutions were unanimously adopted, topped by a ten-point program. Chief among these matters dealt with counter-acting the many-folded attacks upon civil liberties, incitements to attacks upon jews and negroes, the pro-nazi and pro-fascist propaganda of the Hearst press, the rising vigilantes, gag-legislation, for neutrality legislation and for total disarmament, as well as for the stoppage of the manufacture and shipment of armaments.

All these lofty sentiments, against which no liberty loving person could make any exception, have already received the approval of the liberal-socialist-bolshevik NATION, the ultra liberal bolshevik NEW REPUBLIC, the For Everything AMERICAN GUARDIAN, as well as of the "observer" of the Socialist party that refused to participate in the congress, since it suspected it as a bolshevik controlled gathering.

Thus we are faced with a seemingly imposing force that augers well indeed for the attempt of creating in this country a People's Front.

The idea of a "people's front" is no new thing upon the horizon. Over in France the communists have already carried out a similar movement, But the "people's front" was short-lived there, thanks to the secret alliance pacts that the Bolshevik government of Russia had concluded with the Money Lenders' Government of France. Overnight, the leading spirits of the "people's front" turned from hundred per cent pacifists into hundred per cent pro-war shouters for the "glorious" new united military front between Russia and France!

Judging therefore by what has taken place in France, it is not by far too much to predict that in the event of an ensuing war between Japan and Russia, with United States getting into its long prepared war with Japan, the leading guides and spirits of the "people's front" here would only duplicate the sommersault of their French brethren. In fact, Earl Browder, secretary of the Communist party has in his recent debate with Norman Thomas already openly appealed to the American bourgeoise rulers to come forward in siding with Russia against Japan.

The more than three million members that the Congress at Cleveland claimed to have represented may be well and all true. But imposing figures mean nothing when a real test for action arises as was proven in Germany where more than five million voted communist and six million socialist.

Furthermore, movements can best be adjudged as to what they would do when the BIG TESTS come about by their reaction towards the SMALL TESTS.

At the very same Congress in Cleveland, according to Rose Pesotta, writing in our contemporary jewish weekly the FREIE ARBEITER STIMME of January 18th, a committee attempted to bring before that gathering the case of two men who are facing exile to Fascist Italy. And as is implied in the very name of the body that sponsored the Congress—what more fitting place for appealing in support of people who face not only exile but long years of imprisonment or possible death? Strange as it may seem to the naive, the steam roller of the Congress refused even to allow in bringing the case before the gathering!

The true motive for the steam roller at Cleveland acting as it did should prove as an eye opener to every sincere man and woman who lend their support to the League Against War, as well as to the communists in general. The two men whose case was not allowed to be brought before the Cleveland Congress to fight fascism are Vincent Ferrero and Domenick Sallitto. Readers of this journal are fully aware of the "liberal-new-deal" administration's attempt to deport them, thereby aiming to intimidate and silence our voice. And if ever there was a case that lend itself to expose the Roosevelt regime's workings against the freedom of the press as well as against that regime's assault upon militant workers—the case of these two men, and the directed aim to thereby destroy this journal, were most opportune. By acting as the Congress did, the leaders proved how much they can be trusted when an issue of real war, or of other equal importance, would rise.

Lest any one should think that the steam roller at Cleveland did not know anything about the government's campaign against MAN! and about the case of Ferrero and Sallitto it should be stated that FIGHT, the organ of the League Against War and Fascism exchanges with MAN! That our collaborator Harold Preece, himself a communist, had written direct to the head of the League asking why the League and its organ keep silent about the attack upon MAN!, Ferrero and Sallitto.

Furthermore, the Auxiliary Defense Committee of San Francisco arranged a protest mass meeting against the attack upon MAN! and the attempted deportation of Ferrero and Sallitto for July 2, 1935. Every radical grouping in the city was invited to send one speaker, And every grouping did so, excepting one—that of the Communist Party. The Auxiliary Committee stated this fact on the card announcement. And this exposure, the loudest shouters for a "united front" and "people's front" schemes cannot forget.

It can thus be seen that the communists who ran the show that was staged in Cleveland knew very well about the case of MAN!, Ferrero and Sallitto, and their action speaks therefore, for itself.

The attention of the reader is particularly called to the article appearing elsewhere in this issue "Communist Underhand Methods" by A. Souchy. Although dealing with the united front maneuvres of the German communists, it carries an important bearing on similar "united front" and "people's front" movements everywhere else as well.

The real rebels against the present order, the true fighters for liberty—have no need for any united front maneuvers to carry on their work of arousing the people and inspiring them to struggle for a free society. Because rebels of the libertarian ideals have no designs at any time to attain the reigns over the people, but, on the contrary, are unceasingly fighting at all times for the total disappearance of every form of reign by man over fellow man.

Social Credit and Similar Ideas

The victory of the preacher Abernethy in Alberta, Canada, with his promise of a $25 monthly dividend, has focused unusual attention upon the Social Credit idea, the platform upon which Mr. Abernethy and his followers captured the province of Alberta. Although Mr. Abernethy and his cabinet are already installed as rulers, the promised dividend is still BUT A PROMISE, awaiting the arrival of the father of Social Credit—Major Douglas. What would happen if a physical accident should prevent Major Douglas from getting there could easily be surmised.

The social credit idea is based upon the most thoroughgoing mathematical precision one could wish for. Since the present order has reached a stage of development where, with the aid of science and machinery, the needs of mankind could easily be satisfied, therefore the change into a society of abundance for all could be materialized almost momentarily. All that is needed is for the State to issue, let's say, $5,000 social credit certificates to every person in the land, and which certificates, it is stipulated, should be spent within the ensuing year. Following this start, an inventory of all available wealth will be made, with the object of coordinating the industries according to the needs of the country.

Such is, in essence, the program of the social credit idea.

It is to be noted that the State remains not only intact, but WITH THE MATERIALIZATION OF THE SOCIAL CREDIT IDEA, BECOMES THE CHIEF FUNCTIONARY AND ADMINISTRATOR. (See the text of the Goldsborough Bill for Social Credit in NEW DEMOCRACY, P. 86-89, Nov. 1, 1935.)

The safeguarding of capitalism via the State, and par-

(*Continued On Page Five*)

PETER KROPOTKIN'S ETHICAL TRIOLOGY

Ten years* have already elapsed since that day when the life-light went out of Peter Alexeievitch Kropotkin, the beloved comrade, the respected teacher of several generations of anarchists in all countries and among all peoples. His name, his works have become a part of the history, but his teaching still remains the necessary leading start of today's and even of tomorrow's day, not only because the postulates have far from materialized, but also because his main fundamental ideas have gone into the anarchism for ever and will live as long as anarchist ideas will live, and their destiny is to enter wider and deeper into life. And really, no matter how our programs should not change, according to the needs of the time and place; whatever issues should not arise—the leading seam for every anarchist, who feels a need for logical thinking and in harmonizing the thought with the life, will still remain Kropotkin's teaching. It will develop, widen, change in the details, but in its fundamental thoughts it will not age until then when in the march of development of man's thoughts there will come in place of our anarchism something else, which we cannot even foresee. But even in that "something else" the fundamental thoughts of Kropotkin's teaching will unavoidably be an important part.

The last years of his life Kropotkin had—maintaining his propagandistic work in anarchist publications—dedicated to the theoretical working out the questions of ethics: the origin of ethics among people, the development of ethics, the relation of ethical questions on one side with the prevailing conceptions in the common scientific weltanschauung (one's world-view) of our times; on the other side—with the practical struggle that humanity is carrying on for a better future. Kropotkin had here given thought to a real great work: first a critical review of all the religious and philosophical systems until now; and only then disclose an original theory of his own. To the greatest of regrets he had but succeeded to develop only the first part, which was published after his death; the second part though, that had promised to be much bigger and more important, remained incompleted, pieces of prepared material, plans, notes, etc.

Although his work remained unfinished, his thoughts on this field make themselves apparent in his criticism of the philosophical and ethical systems, especially for those who are acquainted with his other works in which the same questions were dealt with: "Mutual Aid," "Modern Science and Anarchy," and particularly "Anarchist Morality." Already in these previous works the general thoughts of Kropotkin had revealed themselves. He is the enemy of all religious and metaphysical interpretations on the sphere of human thought —on the natural knowledge as well as the sociological, or ethical. He makes use for his observations solely with inductive methods that are employed in the studies of natural science. As to ethics the natural-science positive method lead to this, that Kropotkin does not put forth any dogmas, no moral proscriptions, but he begins from that of studying through the ORIGIN and DEVELOPMENT of the ethical feelings in the people. The moral regulations for the behavior appear naturally afterwards: they are not tied, they stream out from the studying through the origins.

The origin of our ethical feelings, says Kropotkin, does not lie in superior-natural spheres, but on the real basis, in the biological factors. Already in the world of animals and in the ancestors of the people, even the really far back, we find already SOCIAL RELATIONSHIP and SOCIAL INSTINCTS. This is the first beginning of morals, upon which Kropotkin dwells at great length in his work "Mutual Aid." It is on this first step that the world of animals is based, whereas with man the development goes much farther: among people, aside from the need of social intercourse of one with another, there develops and spreads out the feelings of sympathy, pity and good-friendship; to this there works itself out a new conception or feeling, whose influence is very broad for the life of every human society: the conception of JUSTICE, in whose bases there lies a second inseparable part of the first—the conception of EQUALITY. This fundamental idea, the idea of justice, Kropotkin has explored in all the philosophical, religious and moral systems; he considers it of that minimum without which there can altogether not be built any ethics and there cannot exist any human society. But no matter how important its influence should not be it still is not any higher aim than the moral one, no highest step of its development; there exists something still higher and important, which raises itself above the ordinary common needs. This is—the not keeping the punctual prescripts of justice that require, that man shall not take from the next one more than he gives to that one; this is the ability to give more, to give without accounting, with a wide hand, utilize the powers of one's self for others, and the more they are being utilized the richer shall become his own spiritual, and ethical personality. Only this moral broad-heartedness deserves, according to Kropotkin's opinion, to be called an ethical one. Anything else stands below that.

This brief sum total of Kropotkin's ethical conceptions has of course not the object to acquaint the reader with their contents. For this purpose it is more than insufficient. I have mentioned here the whole thing for another purpose. I have here in mind to point out on the uninterrupted relationship that exists between Kropotkin's philosophical and social weltanschauung. We know in what a fortunate, it may be said, exclusively form and manner there melted itself together within Kropotkin the educator and revolutionist. He has sacrificed the science for the sake of the revolutionary activity, but sort of a godly power worked it out so, that his science has not been lost, but on the contrary served to a great extent his social activity. Kropotkin was from ONE SIDE an educator and from the SECOND SIDE a revolutionist—within him these two have united themselves uninterruptedly into one harmonious whole. His ethics proves this very clearly. Therefore we see, that when Kropotkin studies the origin of social instinct in the world of animals and discovers that society has existed prior to people—and if there would not be the saving instinct of sociability the individual man would never have evolved from his ancestral similarities—does it not then become clear before us the great importance of these new, pure-scientific, facts and conclusions for the burning question of socialism: the relation between the individual and society? And if this is so, then the question asks itself, if there can exist a society without an organized power? Kropotkin answers yes, there can exist, because sociability is just as much of a necessity for man, as every other thing, and through the strength, not through the outer force, the society of man keeps itself together. There is therefore no need to fear, that society will fall apart when the organized violence will be destroyed, that is, the power of the State. In such a manner a basically scientific answer is given, on one side to the anarchist-individualists who strive to raise the individual to the harm of society;** on the other side—to the socialists who believe in the State, who demand that the individual should be brought as a sacrifice to society. In reality there is no such conflict and sacrifices are not needed: the personality does not suffer from the essential fact that there is a society, but from that of society being badly organized.

Then, let us take the conception of justice, which Kropotkin finds in the bases of all religious and ethical systems and which represents with it in Kropotkin's theory the second phase of ethical development: is then this conception, is then this demand of justice not the bases of all socialistic demands of our time, just as it has been the foundation of all mass-movements of the past in the name of equality? Justice, equality — this is socialism (in the wider, not social democratic, sense of the word) that is the minimum that must be materialized in every society that pretends upon the name of HUMAN society. We know though that on the elementary socialism, wherein there is no more question of equality, in the elimination of exploitation, where every one obtains what belongs to him, Kropotkin has not stopped there: his anarchist communism goes farther and higher—each one according to his needs! And this carries after itself a second principle: "From each according to his ability!" This means such an order of society in which the work for the common benefit is no weight upon the individual, but a joy, or a voluntary responsibility taken upon one's self. And what is this if not the revelation of man's high moral principle—TO GIVE NOT MEASURING AND NOT WEIGHING, that represents with itself the crown, the highest step of Kropotkin's ethical triology?

So it is all bound together in this wonderful harmonious world-believe. And it cannot, without committing a logical error, or not desiring to out-clever one's self, accept one part of this whole foundation and cast aside the remainder.

M. KORN. (Maria Goldschmid)

*—This essay was written five years ago. Now, upon the fifteenth comemmoration of Peter Kropotkin's death, it is brought forward for the first time in an English translation. —M. G.

**—I must take exception to this altogether unfair presentation of the anarchist-individualist position. In reality, it is just the contrary. The fear of the anarchist-individualist is not to be forced in sacrificing the individuality for the sake of any society, particularly in an anarchist-communist one. —M. G.

Retrospect

(*Continued From Page Four*)

ticular praise being given to the fascist regime in Italy, is to be found in an article by Ezra Pound (one of the leading exponents of social credit) in the January ESQUIRE, where in he states:

"At least one company within 20 million capital knows and says that Social Credit will save their business . . . The maxim of Italian policy for the past 13 years has been: Shoot the tiger first and then tackle the jackall . . . The three currents of THOUGHT, Corporate State blokes, Gesel's Freiwirtschafters, and Dougliters, are all alike in ONE respect, perhaps that is why the converge."

Representative Damseyer has also introduced a Free Economic Bill embodying Silvo Gessell's Free Money Theory. Then there is the hour for hour certificate theory by Brokaw, known as Equity. And lastly, the now much spoken of Townsend $200 a month dividend to those passed 60. All these plans have, more or less, something akin to each other, in ideas as well as in practice, chiefly to be enforced via the State.

As an anti-authoritarian, as an anti-centralizer, and as a firm believer in decentarlization and federalism, I can see no more logical reason for supporting the social credit idea than any of the many—altogether accursedly too many—other existing authoritarian ideas and plans for social salviation. In all such plans I see but one tendency: to divert the people from the direct road that could lead to mankind's liberation. Compromises, short-cuts, patches, all roads that can but lead in fastening MORE and ANEW the strait-jacket in which the greater part of mankind finds itself today gasping for a breath of freedom. Freedom FROM THE STATE, not to let itself be FURTHER ENSLAVED TO IT.

MARCUS GRAHAM.

Modern Science and Anarchism

Anarchism . . . represents an attempt to apply the generalisations obtained by the inductive-deductive method of natural sciences to the appreciation of human institutions; as also to foretell, on the basis of these appreciations, the probable aspects of the further march of mankind towards liberty, equality, and fraternity, guided by the desire to obtain the greatest possible sum of happiness for each unit in every human society.

Anarchism is the inevitable result of the intellectual movement in natural sciences which began towards the end of the eighteenth century, and, after having been retarded by the triumph of reaction in Europe after the defeat of the French Revolution, flourished anew in all its might sixty years later. Having its origin in the natural philosophy of the eighteenth century, it had not its basis completely established till after the revival of science which took place in the middle of the nineteenth century, giving new life to the study of institutions and human societies on a natural science basis.

The so-called "scientific laws," which seemed to satisfy the German metaphysicians during the first thirty years of the nineteenth century, find no room in Anarchist conceptions. Anarchism recognizes no method of research but the scientific one and it applies this method to all sciences usually described as the humanitarian sciences.

This is the scientific aspect of Anarchism.

Taking advantage of the scientific method of the exact sciences, as well as of the researches made of late under the impulse of this method, Anarchism endeavors to reconstruct all sciences concerning man, and re-examines the generally received conceptions of Law, Justice, etc. Basing itself on the new data obtained by anthropological research, and extending the work of its eighteenth-century predecessors, Anarchism has sided with the individual against the State, and with society against the authority which, by virtue of historical inheritance, dominates society. On the basis of historical data accumulated by modern science, Anarchism has demonstrated that State authority, which steadily grows in our days, is in reality but a noxious and a useless superstructure which, for us Europeans, only dates from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries: a superstructure built to the advantage of Landlordism, Capitalism, and Officialism, and which in ancient times has caused already the downfall of Rome and Greece and many other centres of civilization once flourishing in the East and in Egypt.

The authority that was constituted in order to unite the nobleman, the judge, the soldier, and the priest for their mutual protection and their class advantages, and which always was an obstacle to the attempts of man to create for himself a life somewhat secure and free—this authority cannot become a weapon of enfranchisement, any more than Caesarism or Imperialism, or the Church, can become instruments of a social revolution.

In political economy, Anarchism has come to the conclusion that the evils of the present day are not caused by the capitalist appropriating for himself the "surplus value," possible. Such an appropriation of the produce of human labour by the owners of capital exists only because millions of men have literally nothing to live upon, unless they sell their labour force and their intelligence at a price that will make the net profit of the capitalist and "surplus value" possible.

This is why we consider that in political economy the first chapter to be studied is the chapter on consumption—not that on production; and when a revolution breaks out, the first duty to attend to will be to remodel consumption, so that shelter, food, and clothing should be assured to one and all. As to production, it will have to be organized so that the principal needs of all the members of society should be satisfied first. This is also why Anarchism cannot look upon the coming revolution as a mere substitution of "labour cheques" for gold, nor of the State as the universal capitalist for the present capitalists. In the coming revolution, the Anarchists see a first step towards free Communism, untrammelled by the State.

Is Anarchism right in its conclusions? The answer will be given us by a scientific criticism of its basis on the one hand, and especially by practical life on the other. But there is one point on which without doubt Anarchism is absolutely in the right. It is when it considers the study of the social institutions as a chapter of natural science; when it parts for ever with metaphysics; and when it takes for its method of reasoning the method that has served to build up all modern science and natural philosophy. If this method be followed, the errors into which Anarchists may have fallen will be easily recognized. But to verify our conclusions is only possible by the scientific inductive-deductive method, on which every science is built, and by means of which every scientific conception of the Universe has been developed.

PETER KROPOTKIN.

* * *

But ours is neither the Communism of Fourier and the Phalansteriens, nor of the German State Socialists. It is Anarchist Communism, Communism without government—the Communism of the Free. It is the synthesis of two ideals pursued by humanity throughout the ages—Economic and Political Liberty.—PETER KROPOTKIN.

CORRESPONDENCE and DISCUSSION

"If There Is Anything That Cannot Bear Free Thought, Let It Crack!"---WENDEL PHILLIPS

For An Anarchist International

Vienna, January 20th, 1936.

Dear Comrades:

It is with great delight that I read of your splendid effort of creating a Universal Anarchist Federation, in fact, it exists in spirit, and organically it is grouped around the International Committee for the Defense of persecuted Anarchists (comrade Hem Day, Brussels, Belgium), but you are perfectly correct: there ought to be a closer international relation and connection amongst Anarchists. Verily, there cannot be a too close one.

In your call in our excellent American journal MAN! you mention a circular which was sent out a year ago to all anarchist groups, etc. I have never received that one, it may be that it was not addressed to me, knowing me to be in prison (for our cause) at that time. Also I do not receive, since 1934, CULTURA PROLETARIA, which I regret the more as I am reading and understanding quite fluently Spanish, and, for the sake of my own literary work for the movement like to follow up all our literature, as much as possible.

Now as to the proposed new Universal International of Anarchists, I consider it a great necessity that anarchists should have their own, self-dependent association on an international basis. It should be all-embracing, should be closed to no group that calls itself and acts in the spirit of anarchists, regardless of any tactical or theoretical distinction. It must also give free scope and a free platform to everyone of them in its publications.

While I believe in embracing all groups and organizations striving for anarchy, I warn not to make the new Federation an appendix to any of the existing international organizations. If, for instance, Syndicalism wishes to join our Universal Anarchist Federation, it should be welcome to do so on quite an equal footing with every other organization; but the Universal Federation of Anarchists must neither join nor be in any condition of dependency from the International Workmen's Association, because Anarchism has to reconsider altogether its attitude towards Syndicalism, which attitude must be matured by 40 years experience. Also as concerns the antimilitarist international organizations. If they wish to have any support from us, let them join our Universal Anarchist Federation. But we must not support them, as it is duplicity, even exploitation of our strength and sacrifices. Anarchism is all-embracing and can stand for itself. All the other factors are only part—work, if they support Anarchism they thereby promote their aim; if we support them, we withdraw our vigor and means from Anarchism.

Also as to the inner organic form of the Universal Anarchist Federation, I have to make a clear proposal. Our association must not be like any of the other Internationals, which are more or less centralistic organizations, while we, as Anarchists, reject centralism and democracy. Our organization should NOT have any central committee. Every country, adhering to the Universal Anarchist Federation should nominate two or more corresponding secretaries. These secretaries should intercommunicate on all matters with all countries directly, and have the duty to send all communications to all comrades of their respective country. To congresses all international secretaries should come and any comrade, proving to be such, by the local movement or his activity. No central committee whatsoever, because any organization with such is no federation, but a centralistic organization, whatever it may say. And it creates all the evils of such a one whatever its name or alleged aim.

I write the above by the decision of our comrades in Vienna, to some of whom I have translated your call. I am instructed to inform you that if you agree to the above, Austria's anarchistic movement (which exists still, in spite of the adverse conditions) will appoint three corresponding secretaries for your knowledge and for information to all other sections, i. e., countries adhering to the Universal Anarchist Federation.

The main work of our International should consist, to our estimation here, in the following points:

1. To bring to the knowledge of all sections all new ideas, tendencies and aspirations within the anarchist world, so that they should produce international progress and evolution within the movement.

2. To support the international defense committee for persecuted anarchists which is specializing itself in this direction and which should therein have the support of the entire movement.

3. To have all important works of Anarchism and for it to be issued in three languages, namely in French, English and Spanish, leaving it for the other countries to furtheron translate them; the same to be done with pamphlets and leaflets.

4. To issue monthly and quarterly manifestoes of inspiration and action, on the part of all international secretaries, in consonance with the international movement.

5. To support all who are in prison and have to rescue themselves, or are refugees and emmigrants for their conviction.

6. To found an international library and archive of Anarchism.

These are the first general suggestions which we, from Austria, have to make. Before elaborating these problems more thoroughly, I await your reply.

Most fraternally and hoping to hear soon, I remain your for our cause,

PIERRE RAMUS.

Each To Clean His Own House

Dear friend Graham:

I have the Nov.-Dec. number of MAN! and thank you for sending it. I admire its fine editing and appreciate getting the news that other papers do not print. While I find faults, and grave ones, with the doctrine it represents, I hold that every man should have the perfect right to toot his own horn, only so can freedom prevail.

Your editorial on war is fine, as far as it goes. But I will take the liberty to make some remarks. The Italian ebullion is an echo from the howl of the wolf by Tiber. Abyssinia is yet a Feudal State, and if my judgment is not too far wrong, Feudalism may yet teach modern Italy the lesson of minding its own business, before a balance of its soldiers come home. Slavery in Ethiopia has the power of tradition behind it, and is less cruel than ours. When ours becomes cleaned up theirs will follow suit. The Emperor's power is limited by that of his vassals. As for Russia and Communism, it has tradition there, was local until the liberation of the serfs, when the Boyars made a mess of it. Communism was the primary form of all societies, and will become the ultimate and ideal when it becomes voluntary, which appears to be quite some generations off. From its origin developed empires, which evolved civilizations that developed parasitism from which thy rotted and died. In Russia was an old civilization, rotten to the roots. A new one is planted. It is progressing while ours is retrogressing. Theirs is growing while ours is fading under the hands of amateur gardeners. Cruelty is Russian, natural result of tyranny and heathenish religion. But hadn't we better sweep our own doorstep before spitting on a friendly neighbor's.

Every Commonwealth must clean its own house and put it in such order as its desire and needs require. Only so can it be done. Ours is infested with two insatiable vampires, land monopoly and its offspring the money monopoly. We call it capitalism, but it is only monopolism, deadly enough to modern culture.

Enclosed, please find two plunks for the paper. Hope it will survive.

S. TIDEMAN.

Our Friend Tideman takes exception to our dealing with social events of other countries. As anarchism—the ideal of freedom—is international in scope and application, we cannot limit our sphere of opinions to mere national boundaries.—Editor.

For A Medium of Exchange

Comrade Graham:

I am enclosing $1.00 on subscription. Would hate to be without MAN!, get lots of good out of it. I am heartily in accord with your aims as I can conceive of nothing higher. But as to your methods of obtaining the desired ends I am wholly antagonistic. Your remarks to my former letter were entirely below you. Ridicule is the argument of those who are beaten. I have yet to find a man who can defend MONEY. I am sure sorry to know that YOU are a worshipper at its shrine.

I have been privileged to see further into the money question than any one who has left a record. I have wandred out where man's mind has never been before and have discovered facts not hitherto known. Mind you I do not make the statement that you seem to think that I did, I do not say that the formulas that I have worked out is the only way, but on the contrary say plainly that there will be many mistakes made in the attempt to create a perfect medium of exchange.

However, there are some facts that cannot be successfully denied. These are that money should be issued in sufficient volume to transact all business on a strictly cash basis and should be retired in such manner as to make it always balance, that is just as much money at all times as there is business to transact. It should at all times be exactly as much as goods and services on the market. It should be in such form as to render it impossible to ACQUIRE and would always require useful service before obtained.

Now one thing further I wish to call your attention to for fear that you may not have it thoroughly in your mind and that is the deifing of money. You seem to think there is no God of any kind yet you DO the very thing that everyone does who has a god, simply accept it as it is without thought or further consideration. In other words have made a God of by aceltance. Read my little book over again and get this matter of money straight in your mind as you can make very little progress on any of the other vital matters while you are in bondage to an imperfect medium of exchange. Remember that the committee appointed by Roosevelt which we know would not be too LIBERAL reported that the average productivity of the American working man is $4,730.00 per annum. Now if the workers had their OWN medium of exchange and done their own business there would be $4,730.00 for every working man to spend which would not be so bad. Each and every one of the things of which you complain are directly traceable to MONEY. Why not fight your real enemy, and remember this remedy is available at all times, and it is nature's way following right down the way of least resistance, falling out with no one and offering violence to no one, just each tub on its own bottom everyone getting according to his usefullness. No one living off any one who is able to render service.

H. H. CUMMINS.

I am deeply sorry to have offended comrade Cummins. As a believer in a real free society, I still fail to see the need of a monetary system when that society comes about.—Editor.

The True Source of Liberty

My Dear Mr. Graham:—

This is to acknowledge the receipt of several issues of MAN! and am thanking you very much for them. I have read them and re-read them until I have almost each copy worn out. I will say that the sentiment expressed as well as the principles advocated have had wonderful influence upon me.

You must remember that I live in an atmosphere of doubt, yet I have always been very liberal minded and my inclinations were against the rule of the favored few, or in other words I have been a radical deeply inspired with not only liberty, but also with freedom, the true source of liberty and independence. I agree that man cannot exercise his full right to these attributes, hampered as he is by authority which in its last analysis is the subterfuge behind which lurks every crime known to mankind. So far as I would be concerned I would rather, at this moment of time, see man set free from his chains to the cumberous systems under which he is struggling, than to see any capitalistic government on earth survive.

I am enclosing the Epilogue of "The Prisoners of Hope" for your consideration. At a later date I will send you the remaining phases. But you will see from the Epilogue just where I stand in this world of turmoil, injustice, and exploitation. It is my candid opinion that the whole political, social and spiritual fabric, in all of the civilized world will in the next few years go up in smoke. I am 65 years old and cannot contribute much to the cause of the liberation of mankind from his bondage except in the manner in which I have written upon the subject of the Prisoners of Hope. I was so thoroughly impressed with Virgilia D'Andrea and her sacrifices in her short career, that I dedicated the last phase of my story to the cause for which she will at some future time be immortalized.

It is my desire to see the people liberated from every sort of bondage, and to this end it is my purpose to strive daily to bring it about.

ZEB V. HOWELL.

From A Disabled World War Veteran

Cher Ami:—

Thanks kindly for the Nov.-Dec. copy of MAN!, and also for including the May, '35, issue with my September subscription copy. However, I haven't had time as yet to read them. I should send you a $1 for the Nov.-Dec., 1934, copy, but my pocket book is too flat, not having any income at present except my monthly pittance from Uncle Sam for the privilege of being one of his disabled, salvaged soldiers —fruits of that needless and fruitless damnable World War.

Yes, you didn't get the irony of my joke in calling red-baiter Hearst and the clique in pious and saintly Wall Street anarchists. In dubbing these religious gentlemen (?) anarchists, I meant the term in the sense of those who trample our Constitution in the dust and destroy American homes through various unlawful means, etc. All good men are Anarchists. Jesus of Nazareth, Wm. Penn, Henry D. Thoreau, Bronson Alcott and Walt Whitman were Anarchists. An Anarchist is one who minds his own business. No man who believes in force and violence is an Anarchist. The true Anarchist decries all influences save those of love and reason. Ideas are his only arms. Well—I reckon this is enough of my whangdoodle for one occasion.

With best wishes to you and trusting that you can garner the finances with which to keep MAN! going to the printer,

SHUBEL WARD.

From A Socialist

I noted with interest your September edition of MAN!, and I must say that it is well written and certainly mentally stimulating. I am a Socialist, and of course a Freethinker, so it seems to me that the ideal of Anarchy is too idealistic. That is, it is an ideal fit only for the intellectuals who are unselfish and willing to learn the art of living, instead of just making profits for a few ghouls.

So it seems to me at present. I believe that a socialistic form of society, making the machinery and power (and the products of these) available to the masses for their own use is as close to perfection as we can come for several score of years, perhaps centuries. However, I am willing to hear your side of the question, and that is why I am subscribing to your paper. You see, I believe in free speech and free press in fact as well as in theory. I would certainly resent any interference on the part of authorities to shut down your paper. That sort of stuff is disgusting. If you have any good ideas we want them. If you haven't—well, it is your privilege to express them regardless. This world can never progress without free discussion. I have just been reading the APPEAL TO REASON (Haldeman-Julius Pub.) which has been running a series of essays by Joseph McCabe on the Catholic Church. And then our ministers talk about the "sweet age of faith" and all of that stuff. Freedom of thought in the glorious Christian Dark Ages was drowned in blood! And remember, we still have the spirit of intolerance with us.

H. J. BROWN.

• • •

To expect a SOCIAL Revolution to come like a Christmas-box, without being heralded by small acts of revolt and insurrections, is to cherish a vain hope. It would be shutting one's eyes to what IS going on all around, in Europe and America, and taking no notice of the hundreds of strikes and small uprisings everywhere, and gradually assuming a more widespread and a deeper character.—PETER KROPOTKIN.

ART AND LITERATURE

The End of Fairyland

Nimblenook flung himself, breathless, into Fairyland. His tiny green shoes, only recently made for him by one of the Leprechauns, were worn through. His little red jerkin hung in tatters.

"I fear that we are no more in the land of the mortals," he panted as he stood before the fairy leader.

The group of fairies gathered there to await his arrival arose to its feet, and even the insects seemed to stop their light noises in the grasses so that they might hear better.

"What have you learned, my worker?" the leader asked Nimblenook.

"There is strife throughout the land," the elf replied. "The people war with each other."

But the elf looked bewildered. "I do not know, but there is much talk of money, and some of them say that others are getting all of it, leaving them nothing."

Here the fairies broke into a gale of laughter. "Ho! Ho! Ho!" the leader bellowed, and slapped his thigh in glee. Then, in his excitement, he missed himself and slapped his wife, who immediately returned it with one of her own.

Now the leader blinked in surprise. His wife had never done this before. It is to be regretted that a fight occurred in Fairyland, but this is exactly what happened. It extended from the leader to everyone gathered there, and elves exchanged blows with fairy maidens. But finally the leader slapped his own wife into a corner, and mounted the twig of a small bush growing near.

"Ho! Ho! Ho!" he shouted in mirth. "I see all of it now. The mortals fight because they are afraid one will get more than the other. We fairies fight because we are afraid one will get less than the other."

Nimblenook crept softly out from his hiding place behind a big stone, and once more he approached the leader.

"Listen to me!" he demanded. "There is rumor of war on every hand. Great machines are being prepared to destroy the people of the earth, and back of these machines are huge giants. All over the land the people are walking homeless. Their bodies are thin, and their eyes are hollow. And now the giants are taking them and penning them up in camps which lie over the country like white ships in the harbor."

The leader pulled his beard, and he meditated deeply. Then he gave a sigh and turned to the others. "War prevails among the mortals, and revolt creeps through the land while over it strides the huge heels of the giants. My people what shall we do?"

A small elf squeeked with fear. But another, more brave, said, "Let us forget that there is war in the land of the mortals. Let us go on with our dances."

But at this the leader protested. "We cannot do this. Under the mounds of the earth we build our homes, and in the moonlight which steals over the earth, we hold our dances. We have been the hope and spark of life to the peasants in their huts. Even yet many of them set out food for the Brownies, although they have to deny themselves. And through our own magic, we have seized gold from the pockets of the rich and put it into the pockets of the poor."

Then a harsh laugh broke over Fairyland. "Fairy gold," it jeered. The elves looked about, but saw nothing.

"It is not only the mortals who are in danger," the leader continued. "We ourselves are in danger from these huge machines which will plough up our mounds and destroy forever our fairy world. And if it is destroyed, all hope is gone from the land of the mortals; for all beauty will be snatched from it. With vision gone, the earth will disappear." A tear trickled from his eye and ran down to the end of his nose, where it caught and hung for a moment.

"The children—the children. What about the children who have always been our friends?" cried voices from the group.

Calling Nimblenook to him, the leader asked, "What about the children?"

The elf again spoke. "The children are without bread and milk. They cry in the darkness of tenements, and in the ditches by the roadsides. They are starving by the millions."

Then a wail sounded throughout Fairyland. "If Fairyland dies in the hearts of the children, then it is doomed forever."

"We have ever been like thistledown against reality", the leader continued sadly. "In the midst of this chaos, we are like colored vapor. But let us try and live strongly in the hearts of the children, for in them is carried the dream of a better world. And in this world both fairies and mortals shall dance freely, not only in the moonlight, but in sunlit meadows. Our voices will be drowned out with the roar of cannon, and even by the cries of the destitute in their plea and demand for bread. While war lasts upon earth, Fairyland will be despondent." Then, straightening his shoulders, the old leader, with flashing eyes, rang out, "But we know that as long as a new world is sought, we live."

"What is to happen to us in the meantime?" a dryad asked.

Again the leader spoke: "It means that we must leave our mounds where we have been so happy and we must go to the very strongest fortresses under the earth. There we shall survive until we can once more venture out upon the earth. But ah, the long, long darkness is in store for us, just as there is darkness for the mortals who must lie in cold dungeons upon the earth. They are being chained as Prometheus was chained when he brought fire to mankind. But while the mortals create a better world, we fairies, in our caverns, shall hammer out precious jewels of great beauty. These we shall scatter out over the entire earth when we are again free. The mortals will reach for them because of a greater hunger than that which is now caused by lack of bread. Nimblenook, spread the tidings over Fairyland that our people must gather for their long march to the caverns under the earth."

Off went Nimblenook to do this. Far and wide sounded his silver trumpet, and the echo of it reached into the earth-world. Children heard it, and despite their hunger, they yearned for it again. But it was too faint for the world of men. Then, from the entire land, came hordes of fairy folk. There were fairy wives with their own babies, and some with changelings taken by fairies who had left fairy children in their places. Pan came with his pipes silent, and the fleet-footed Dryads drifted from the trees. The Leprechauns sighed and put away their tools, wiping their hands on their aprons. Elves trudged along with their heads down, and Brownies no longer skipped. The fairy maidens wept bitterly. At the head of the procession was the leader. And all the fairies turned for a last long look at the beautiful land which they were leaving. The dew, in pity, fell upon grass and primrose in order to soften the grief which entered into everything that had life.

Then the march of the fairies began. Finally the last one entered the caverns of darkness. Suddenly a great roar sounded over the entire earth. The giant, War, rushed out in the seven-league boots which he had stolen from Jack-the-Giant-Killer. He was followed by a league of other giants who threw the people against each other and tried to force them into ranks. War is still striding across the earth, and he is looking for Death to join him. And far away in their dark caverns the fairy folk are waiting until they can once more return to their homes.

LOUISE PREECE.

Burdens

These the burdens mortality
Must carry around,
For a time at least:
the solid ground,
And the untold agony,
Groves tangled and tossed;
Cathedrals, men, monuments,
Rocks and steps crushing the sense;
Minutes and months and years,
Broken boughs, imperial cares;
Civilizations insane;
Blizzards and hail and sleet,
Temporal pain;
Marshes and swamps
sullen, discreet,
And the meaningless
nothingness
Of the bleak places around;
And the shadowy globe
in the infinite lost.

VINCENT FERROUS.

Patriotic Vigilante

Nature went mad in the dark of night,
And swallowed vile stuff; the guile of rats,
The froth of wolves, the soul of the mite,
The breath of skunks, the light-fear of bats,
The heart of worms, and the fox's scheme,
The hyena's view, and the jackal's creed,
The weasel's aim, and the night hawk's scream;
The ways and means of the vulture breed.

Nature went mad and she drank the brews
Of the loco weed and nicotine,
The poison ivy, the hemlock's ooze,
The maddened drip of the canine spleen,
The blood and gall of the frenzied boar,
The bile and pus of a rotten spy,
The slavered hate of a cheated whore,
The morbid sap of the tsetse fly.

Nature went mad and resolved to make
A hideous, putrid, leprous thing,
A bastard kin to the crawling snake,
With human form, and viper sting.
She mixed up dung with alkali earth
From the hole of an outhouse shanty.
And there in a filthy hour gave birth
To the self ordained vigilante.

JACK GREENBERG.

Reds

Children, children of tomorrow,
Thunder rolls about your heads;
Hissing, sneering—shameful sorrow—
"Filthy, vagrant, crazy Reds!"

Hear the sermon smugness preaches,
While the hungry cry for bread;
Learn the lesson silver teaches,
Laugh to hear man call you RED!

RED is vision, barriers leaping,
Tearing down the false debate;
RED is blazing courage, sweeping,
To destroy the ugly hate!

JEANETTE SELETZ

Book Reviews

OUR ENEMY, THE STATE by Albert Jay Nock-Morrow & Co., New York, $2.25.

Mr. Nock begins with the vital distinction between the State and society, showing, in the course of his work, that the State, every State, originated and functions for only one purpose—conquest and economic exploitation. Although resting on violence, the State, in the final analysis, exists by virtue of a state of mind which prevails toward it, a peculiar ignorance, delusion, and moral debility which, in the face of its unbroken record of doing nothing honestly and efficiently, tends to call on it to ameliorate any social predicament. We are all so used to being brought up under some form of State that we are more concerned with its form rather than its nature.

Quoting Spencer, who said that when State power is applied to social purposes its action is invariably "slow, stupid, extravagant, inadaptive, corrupt and obtrusive," and that in its corruption is unavoidable, Mr. Nock notes that nevertheless its "old trick of turning every contingency into a resource for accumulating force in the government," in Madison's words, is looked upon with tolerance, even with the hope that it will improve and mend its ways. Indeed, there are perpetual attempts to improve its character, running at last to the fatuous assumpions of collectivists that when the State is given ALL power its activities will be identical with societary interests, an idea the puerility of which is demonstrated by its going to pieces against the iron law of fundamental economics—that man tends always to satisfy his needs and desires with the least possible exertion, politically rather than economically whenever possible. Appeal to the State is appeal to contravene natural law. He says, "under a regime of actual individualism, actually free competition, actual LASSEZ FAIRE—a regime which, as we have seen, cannot possibly coexist with the State— a serious or continuous misuse of social power would be virtually impracticable." Nevertheless, no political party, whether it be called Republican, Progressive, Democrat, Communist, Farmer-Laborite, Socialist or what not, is opposed to augmentation of State power, their interest being only to gain that power, the greater it is the keener the competition to gain control.

Bu why labor the point when Mr. Nock himself has so briefly and distinctly summarized it by saying, "Taking the State wherever found, striking into its history at any point, one sees no way to differentiate the activities of its founders, administrators, and beneficiaries from those of a professional criminal class." Bravo! Mr. Nock. Bravo! Marxian scientists please note. I can see some preoccupied anthropologist a few thousand years hence, poking through the ruins of a degenerate society and picking up a crumbling copy of "Our Enemy, the State," exclaim, "Well, well! Why they couldn't all have had thick skulls at that."

Mr. Nock makes special mention of the American State, the first to take birth from the industrial revolution. The arising mercantile class, finding it difficult to reconcile the ideas Liberty, Equality, Fraternity with a State, found it necessary to keep up the appearances of the former and retain the latter, to resort to—Parliamentarianism. In the United States Government the balance of power has rested, successively, in the hands of land owners, industrialists, and finally, financiers. Most of the prominent men mentioned in connection with the American Revolution were land-grabbers and speculators among whom were George Washington, Patrick Henry, Benjamin Franklin, Timothy Pickering, John Adams, Silas Deane, Robert Morris, James Wilson, Wolcott Stiles, Peletiah Webster, Ethan Allen, Johnathan Trumbull, James Duanne—all prominent men—as well as the "Father of the Revolution" himself—samuel Adams. Only one man, or possibly two, saw clearly the course of events—Jefferson, who said at the time, "our government is now taking so steady a course as to show by what road it will pass to destruction, to-wit: by a consolidation first, and then corruption its necessary consequence. The engine of consolidation will be the federal judiciary; the other two branches the corrupting and corrupted instruments,"—and Thomas Paine. Jefferson also said, "When we must wait for Washington to tell us when to sow and when to reap, we shall soon want bread," statements that seem strangely significant in these depressing days. But I shall go no further in violating my original intention except to say that Mr. Nock comes up to and includes the Roosevelt Regime.

I cannot refrain from mentioning the "kick" I got from reading Mr. Nock's note that being unable to enslave the Indian the colonists had to expropriate them by conquest, as some of my rebelliousness I like to attribute to my Indian ancestors.

"Our Enemy, the State," is not a large book. Ordinarily a reader should finish it in a few evenings. It is no laborious warming-over of socialistic jargon. It is entertaining, clearly written, provocatively stimulating, and instructive. Truly "a gentleman and a scholar," Mr. Nock, widely traveled and cultured, and although an avowed anarchist, manages to write probably one of the most lucid yet unorthodox books on human liberty without once mentioning a single anarchist "authority" (and, for a change, god bless him for it.) He winds up realistically if peshimistically by saying he does not expect the book to have any appreciable effect on curtailing the tendency of increase of State powers, until the day of reckoning, but that it was written for those who have an intellectual curiosity concerning "the august order of nature."

LAURANCE LABADIE.

UNDER THE IRON HEEL OF GOVERNMENTS

Germany

A pure Aryan woman, named Horvat, 23 years old, committed suicide. She was working in a Nazi office, accused of her friendship with a Jew. The persecution that followed drove her to the final deed.

NOFRONTIER NEWS SERVICE reports in detail the devastating effects of Nazism upon German culture. Book publishing declined 278 million marks in the first six months of 1935. Since Hitler's accent the general output declined 43 per cent. To Hitler's credit should also be added the killing of 3454 nwspapers and periodicals. Most of the foreign papers, even such as the New York TIMES are forbidden entrance to Germany.

NEWS YOU DON'T GET reports that 300 workers of the Wupertal-Elberfield textile factory were arrested on charges of "attempting to reorganize free trade unions in Germany."

Rudolph Claus, former treasurer of the International Labor Defense (communist) was beheaded last December.

The DAILY WORKER reports that Ernst Torgler, the communist Reichstag member, who was tried on the charge of burning the Reichstag, has been expelled by the Communist party. TIME reports that he has been freed and is now living in a rich villa near Berlin with his sweetheart, also a well known communist, and is now preparing a book on his conversion from communism to Nazism.

Thus ends the career of another traducer of the heroic martyr Marinus Van der Lubbe, that Torgler and the infamous Dimitrov, now head secretary of the Third Communist International, aided in having the Nazi regime to behead, whilst they threw to the winds their own self-respect and honesty.

Italy

We quote the following from a correspondence from Rome, printed in GIUSTIZIA E LIBERTA of November 15, 1935: The disappointments of Geneva, the threats of the sanctions, the food restrictions, the misery, the reports which come from Africa, addressed to the members of the families of soldiers there—reports confirming the violence of the fighting and the danger from epidemics—all these things have their results. The myth of the infallibility of Il Duce has disappeared. People fear for the future. Anxiously the truth is sought: this explains why people literally fight for the foreign papers. At Rome some copies of foreign papers were sold for four lire each!

The press campaign had led to a feeling of great indignation against England. At the moment this indignation has quieted down somewhat. People understand that the really responsible person is Mussolini, who, for some days now has been fulmigating against France, as is to be seen from the speeches of Senator Forges Davanzati, which have been broadcast. The depression of the people is deep. The official manifestations of November 4 at Rome took place amidst the silence and indifference of the public. When in the cinemas Mussolini appeared on the sheet there was only weak and spasmodic applause, immediately suppressed by admonitions to be silent.

The bourgeoisie are literally afraid. They see all their savings in danger. A number of merchants were visited by fascists who, on the pretext that foreign products might not be sold any more, confiscated them. The foreigners are leaving Italy; the hotels are empty. The number of bankruptcies is increasing day by day. In the country the misery is terrible. And everybody knows that the worst has not yet come. The Ovra (political police) has been doubled in force, extended its activities. Even the fascist leaders are spied upon. The same number of the aforementioned paper reports that according to wireless news "exemplary justice" has been meted to "traitors" and "deserters," "proof that the reign of terror is becoming worse; that opposition to the war and the regime is growing and spreading." In the Boston GLOBE of September 30 a British sailor wrote that on Rhodes (Aegean Sea) a hospital for 50,000 persons has been built. The sick and wounded from the African War are received here. Their correspondence is strictly censured. The conditions under which the troops live must be terrible. According to statements made by Italian laborers from the African coast, at least 50 per cent of the troops are exhausted a week after landing. Workmen and soldiers are subjected to iron discipline. The firing squad is the result of the smallest infringement of the regulations, of the slightest sign of insurrection. Up till now there has not been any open revolt of the troops. Regiments, suspected of dissatisfaction, are incorporated into laboring squads, working at the roads, etc., under the supervision of the fascist division "della morte" (the division devoted to death) who obey Mussolini blindly. This report can be supplemented by a letter from Suez, published in the MANCHESTER GUARDIAN of November 15, and in which a Syrian laborer, who had arrived in the Sudan, declared: "The laborers in Eritrea are said to get 12 pounds a month with free food and lodging. We get little food. Instead of working four hours a day, as was agreed upon, we had to work twelve. After one day we, Syrians, 41 in number, refused to work on these conditions. We were chained by soldiers and shut up in a subterranean room. Later on we were whipped and compelled to work. The laborers at Massawa work under terrible conditions. They suffer from skin diseases . . . I saw several laborers collapse during the work . . . some of them were immediately dead. The soldiers are dissatisfied. Hundreds are ill, suffer from fever and acute sunburn, seeing that they work half naked.

(A news report in the press of this month states that over 30,000 soldiers, one-tenth of the total Italian army in Ethiopia, have been returned to Italy—ill.—EDITOR.)

Up to September the Italian government had already spent 4,887,811,000 lire on the African campaign, that is to say 600 million a month during the eight months of preparation. This expenditure has risen since the war began to at least one milliard per month.

* * *

Meanwhile the French government is busy to clear France of anti-fascist Italians, especially those who are Anarchists or suspected of having anarchist leanings. Camillo Berneri, a teacher by profession, libertarian socialist, has been informed that he has to leave France. He had got permission, some time ago, after having roamed from one country to another, to remain in France. By order of the Ministry of the Interior all Italian anarchists are to be expelled from the South-Eastern region. For this reason two comrades already had to leave France in a hurry. In the same country fascist groups can, in the most literal sense of the word, incite against the government, urge army and navy to open revolt in terms which would have cost every anti-militarist years of imprisonment, without even the pretense of a prosecution being instituted. One and another shows where the real sympathy of the French authorities is.

(INTERNATIONAL ANTI-MILITARIST PRESS COMMISSION.)

Spain

A report from Spain just received, states that five anarcho-syndicalists, who had been sentenced to death on account of the revolts of December, 1933, have had these sentences ratified by the Supreme Court. They are: ANTONIO GARCIA of Veguellina (province Leon). Two guardias civil were wounded in this place during the revolt. VALENTIN ARCOS, JULIO MARCIS, MANUEL GARCIA en AGAPITO MAEZTU, all of San Asencio (Logrono).

During the struggle a corporal and a guardia civil were killed in San Asencio. There is some hope that the death sentences will not be carried out, especially if—as has happened on previous occasions—people abroad occupy themselves with this matter and lodge protests with the President of the Spanish Republic, requesting him at the same time to alter the sentences into terms of imprisonment. We would remind that such an action had effect in the case of HONORATO ATIENZA, who was sentenced to death for revolutionary activities on the war fleet. This sentence was not carried out, one reason being the protest action launched.

We would call attention to the fact that the sentences passed in Spain in connection with the revolutionary movements of December, 1933, and October, 1934, rest on confessions and evidence extorted from prisoners and witnesses, and that the Special Courts acted in a completely arbitrary manner. The most elementary forms of justice were continually violated.

JERONIMO MISA ALMAZAN of Sevilla has been sentenced to death without proper evidence being produced for the alleged murder of a Fascist on August 7, 1935. This death sentence has also been ratified by the Supreme Court and no pardon is expected. Only the immediate intermediary of labor and anti-facistic organizations can save him! A large number of anarchists, communists and socialists were killed in Sevilla by the fascist leagues. Not one of the perpetrators was ever prosecuted. But Spanish class justice condemns an anti-fascist without legal and convincing evidence being produced!

Send at once telegrams of protest to the President of the Spanish Republic, Madrid, as did the IAMB., requesting to intervene immediately on behalf of Antonio Garcia, Valentin Arcos, Julio Marcos, Manuel Garcia, Agapito Maeztu and Jeronimo Misa Almazan.

(INTERNATIONAL ANTI-MILITARIST PRESS COMMISSION.)

Switzerland

A correspondent from Geneva reports in our contemporary the FREIE ARBEITER STIMME of January 10th a very interesting event. Thirty unemployed building workers, inspired by some anarchists within their ranks, decided to begin some real direct revolutionary action. They picked out three vacant useless houses and set to work demolishing them, with the intention of building new ones in their place. The Government and the daily press, espousing the cause of the exploiters, went into an uproar. Such a bad example to the other unemployed who might follow suit in every other industry must be crushed at once! Joining the saviours of the STATUS QUO was none other than the organ of the Socialist Party LABOR which came forward with this stand:

> The Socialist party . . . holds that those people, who have counselled disorder, should at once be brought to a point, which will not permit them to do such things.

United States

The South, known the world over for its chain gangs, its mutilation of prisoners to the point of death, its Scottsboro frame up against nine Negro boys, its lynchings of Negroes upon the sheerest of pretexes, has now added a new act of shame to its long list of human depravities and injustices. On November 30 the police of Tampa, Florida, invaded a private home where a meeting of democrats was being held, arresting six men. After freeing them at the police station, three were seized by officers and police and taken for a "ride." The three Sam G. Rogers, Eugene Poulnot and Joseph A. Shoemaker—were brutally beaten up, the last named died nine days later of the wounds. The three men were all whites. Shoemaker was a member of the American Legion, and for some time prior, a leading figure of the Socialist party. Nine officers of the "law and order" brigade are now facing first degree murder charges. Reports have it that scores of similar beatings have been perpetrated upon other radicals by the police in various parts of Florida.

* * *

Twelve members of the Amalgamated Street Car Union of Omaha, Nebraska, are now facing Criminal Syndicalism charges as a result of the car strike which is now in its second year.

* * *

LABOR CHEST NEWS SERVICE of January 16th carries an attack upon the League Against War and Fascism as a "domestic propaganda instrument," which is no doubt true. But, the LABOR CHEST NEWS SERVICE, founded to fight Fascism and Nazism, has so far not carried a single news item of the impending deportation of Ferrero and Sallitto, or for that matter—of any victim who has or is facing deportation to the fascist or nazi country. "Charity begins at home"—if one is really sincere.

* * *

Elton M. Stone, aged 31, was apprehended as the slayer of the fourteen-year-old Stammer girl in Fresno, California. It took the court four hours to try and convict Stone to be hanged, after being forced to plead guilty at the threat of being lynched. Stone has repeatedly said that his act was one of vengeance upon the Stammer family. Mr. Stammer is a prominent corporation lawyer. It is quite possible that the authorities are hiding Stone's true motive for such an act of vengeance. The American Civil Liberties Union would do very well to investigate the entire case—before Stone will be legally murdered.

* * *

Spying of the most vicious sort, by the local Bank of America officials, the local public library and other "esteemed citizens"—constituted the chief evidence against Victor R. Jewett, a teacher at the Junior College of Eureka, California, on alleged grounds of unprofessional conduct. The court found him guilty of having made these statements:

> "Russia has the best government in the world and we the worst; that we are aggressors in every war; that the schools were controlled by big business, and that Tom Mooney was a greater martyr than Abraham Lincoln. Furthermore, Jewett appeared on the picket line during a recent lumber strike and contributed toward a defense fund for 28 union strikers accused of rioting."

* * *

A jury freed Edgar Rueb on the charge of causing the death of Arthur Ross, an I. W. W., whom Rueb had brutally attacked on September 1, 1935.

Harry R. Davis, militant union seaman, charges of being seized by three men whom he took to be detectives and taken by them in an automobile to the outskirts of the city of Los Angles, California, and brutally beaten.

Tear gas bombs and clubs were used by the police in attacking WPA strikers at Roanoke, Va. Many of the pickets were arrested.

Joseph Lash, secretary of the Student League for Industrial Democracy, went to a police station in New York City to protest against his being attacked in the theater that was showing Hollywood's "Red Salute." The police captain administered to Lash a more severe beating. Eighteen marching protesters were arrested by Mayor La Guardia's henchmen.

FINANCIAL STATEMENT

Income	$133.00
Expenditures	137.98
Deficit from last issue	49.52
	$187.50
	133.00
Deficit	$ 54.50

(RECEIVED FROM GROUPS, INCLUDED IN ABOVE STATEMENT)

San Francisco $55.00; Carlinville, Ill., $4.00; Chicago, Ill., $1.00; Pittston, Pa., $6.50; Crompond, N. Y. $4.00; Steubenvill, Ohio, $4.50, and Elwood, Ill., $15.50.

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We are all up against, it, financially, for reasons too numerous to mention all of them. Sorry you cannot attract more listeners to your standard. I would like to have you continue if possible, although I know it is a laborious and rather a thankless task to carry on with any libertarian movement when compared with some of the old superstitious establishments that sort of dovetail in together with all of the business interests. I chip in a few stamps in response to your appeal for funds, although I am not earning any of the silver certificates.—W. S. ALLEN.

My conscience tells me I ought to have renewed my subscription a while ago. I enclose $2 to renew for two years from the expiration of my previous payment.

STEVEN T. BYINGTON.

I understand that it is very difficult to keep up the paper, but at least you have the satisfaction to edit one of the best organs we have ever had in this country. Keep it up by all means.—HIPPOLYTE HAVEL.

I received the last issue of MAN! It is an excellent number and I am really sorry that I am not in a position to contribute some of the "filthy lucre" to keep the paper going. New York City alone could keep MAN! afloat, but the comrades there seem to be asleep as far as our cause is concerned. And it is during the depression that we should spread our ideas.—A. ISAAK.

MAN!'S cry has touched my heart as well as my brain and I shall do the utmost to save it(not from oblivion, for its intensive life could never be forgotten) from going further down. Enclosed find check for two dollars.

JULIUS SCARCERIAUX.